

Development-induced displacement and human security: a very short introduction

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Development-Induced Displacement and Human Security: A very short introduction

Introduction. A general overview of development-induced displacement and resettlement

At least fifteen million people each year are forced to leave their former place of residence as a result of major development projects (M.M. Cernea and H. Mathur, 2008)¹. It is estimated that large development projects such as dams, roads and exploitation of raw materials led to the displacement of least 300 million people between 1988 and 2008. Alongside natural disasters, economic development is one of the greatest causes of contemporary internal displacement worldwide. The irreversible nature of many displacements caused by development can be compared only with the displacements in consequence of climate change and natural disasters or industrial accidents affecting large territories (such as the Asian tsunami of 2004 or the Chernobyl disaster in 1986). Just as in many cases of desertification, land degradation or shoreline erosion, the construction of large dams or creation of open-pit mines can make it impossible to resettle in the territory. The irreversibility of such displacements is one of the most important factors in their huge economic, social and cultural consequences. Especially dangerous is the displacement to far distant places due to irreversible interference with the natural environment. The result of the creation of large dams, expansion of mining, or oil exploitation does not have to be direct large-scale displacement. The negative environmental impact caused by development may lead to a substantial incidence of “secondary” forced migration of rural populations to cities or other territories. The most serious social consequences have accompanied displacement to territories which are completely different from those previously inhabited. Resettlement plans implemented in China and India should consider the displacement of the population of particular nearby economic territories into others similar to those previously abandoned. Displacement – understood as dislocation from the homeland territory without social support in the new place of residence – is a violation of the most fundamental human rights and should be entirely prohibited. Resettlement can be defined as a planned and organized relocation to a strictly specified new place of residence, accompanied by social support mechanisms and compensation for lost goods. In many countries even resettlement is only permitted in the case of projects for public use.

Development-induced displacement is a social phenomenon strongly associated with other categories of forced displacement. It is similar to evacuations due to administrative compulsion to leave the territory following natural disasters, a situation which incorporates both these problems. Resettlement caused by economic development is generally less reversible and is associated with less serious risks to the people involved than disaster-induced displacement or conflict-induced displacement. Development-induced displacement is also strictly confined within the country's static borders. However, we can mention cases such as the building of the Kaptai in Bangladesh and Mangla Dam in Pakistan, when implementation of large development projects became the indirect source of international mobility. Most cases combine development-induced displacement with displacement associated with long-term environmental changes. A direct consequence of the construction of large dams, such as Three Gorges Dam in China, is the displacement of residents from the area of the construction site. The long-term result of many development projects is land, air and water pollution in the surrounding areas, exposing many people to health risks and the threat of poverty. The indirect result of the negative consequences of development projects is therefore forced migration associated with deteriorating living conditions. In this type of displacement we cannot, therefore, differentiate between the environmental context and the early implementation of the development project. Contemporary internal displacement in many countries is often monocausal. That is why contemporary classification of internal displacement into four basic

¹ M.M. Cernea and H. Mathur (eds.), *Can Compensation Prevent Impoverishment: Reforming Resettlement Through Investments and Benefit-Sharing*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2008.

categories (development-induced displacement, conflict-induced displacement, disaster-induced displacement and environmentally-induced displacement), which is often used but somehow rarely appears in the literature, is not always suitable for more in-depth analyses. The causes of all internal displacement worldwide lie in dynamic conflicts between different categories of actors within static boundaries (the territory of the country). In the case of development-caused displacement, land becomes a resource and source of conflict between the interests of the public authorities and the private sector and the potentially affected or displaced people². In the most extreme cases of development-induced displacement, land turns out to be a much more valuable resource than the people living on it.

Within historical analysis, development-induced displacement and conservation-induced displacement are the “youngest” categories of forced migration³. The massive scale of these processes has been observed only from the late forties of the last century. For most of human history, the root causes of forced migrations were natural disasters and long-term negative environmental processes, or population growth and the consequent decrease in the amount of resources. The Neolithic revolution and the associated development of social organization played a major role in the greater diversity of the causes of displacement worldwide. The growing population and associated demographic pressure caused additional voluntary migrations in pursuit of new resources and better living conditions. New forms of settlement, such as the establishment of towns near large rivers, together with the development of agriculture, gradually freed people from the dictates of the forces of nature. Ancient times saw the beginning of resettlement motivated by political factors. We can at least mention here the deportation of the Israelites (the so-called Babylonian captivity). The vast majority of conflicts in the ancient Middle East were indeed associated with environmentally-caused migratory pressure and the struggle for resources (water, agricultural land). In contrast to these processes, displacement associated with economic development is a very young phenomenon.

Transformation and changes of land use have always led to the problems associated with population resettlement. However, only in the twentieth century has this problem emerged on such a massive scale. The creation of large dams and hydroplants had already been initiated in the first decades of the last century. By the twenties, this problem had become apparent in India⁴. The real explosion in such problems, however, was associated with the political transformations of the fifties and sixties: China's industrialization pursued by bloody methods (Mao's so-called Great Leap Forward policy), Nehru's socialist vision of industrialization and dams as “temples of modern India”, hydro projects in the Soviet Union, and, in Africa, those related to decolonization and growing economic needs. Since the construction of the High Dam in Aswan, DIDR has become a crucial social problem, the cause of massive displacements and a focus of scientific interest. At the beginning of the fifties applied anthropologists, such as Robert Fernea, Elizabeth Colson and Thayer Scudder, were already drawing attention to the micro-and macro-social implications of the creation of large dams in Africa (Kariba Dam, Akosombo Dam, High Dam in Aswan). It is worth mentioning here the Gwembe Tonga Development Project initiated in 1956, in order to analyze the influence of the construction of the Kariba Dam on the Zambezi river on social change within the Gwembe Tonga community. The seventies see the beginning of interest in this problem within the framework of the World Bank, in cooperation with sociologists studying this issue in the developing world (from 1974)⁵. A dozen years later, these investigations led to the first conceptualization of the problem and establishment of World Bank policy on involuntary resettlement. The first such policy was adopted in 1980 (as an

2 We can mention two final push-factors in every case of internal displacement worldwide – 1. the effect of strong security threats, 2. administrative compulsion to leave previously inhabited territory; alternately, the combination of these factors.

3 B. Terminski, *Przesiedlenia inwestycyjne: Nowa kategoria migracji przymusowych*, Oficyna Wydawnicza Łośgraf, Warszawa, 2012.

4 R. Vora, *World's First Anti-Dam Movement: Mulshi Satyagraha 1920-1924*, Permanent Black, 2009.

5 T. Scudder, *The future of large dams*, Earthscan, London, 2005.

Operational Manual Statement), following recognition of detrimental development policies in many parts of the world, which led to the impoverishment of many thousands of people. The term “development-induced displacement and resettlement” (DIDR) was introduced to scientific discourse in the mid-eighties by the book *Putting People First: Sociological Variables in Rural Development* edited by M.M. Cernea (published in 1985 and 1991). The eighties and nineties saw the evolution of theoretical approaches to this problem. We can mention here the Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model (IRR) of Michael M. Cernea, developed during the nineties. Another significant theoretical contribution to this problem was the Colson-Scudder four-stage model of 1982.

An important factor in the growth of research on development-induced displacement was the two major development projects of this period: the construction of the Sardar Sarovar dam complex on the river Narmada in India and the Three Gorges Dam in China. In 1990 the first World Bank policy was revised as Operational Directive OD 4.30. Both these documents focused on examples of displacement associated with the construction of large dams. In 2002 the Operational Directive (OD 4.30) was converted to Operational Policy (OP) 4.12⁶. The last few years were also a period of increasing interest in other factors leading to displacement. I am thinking in particular of a study on urbanization, expansion of agriculture, mining and oil extraction. According to the experts, the above-mentioned causes of displacement are often associated with territorial conflict (conflict of space) and may lead to brutal clashes and even organized violence. Their victims have mostly been marginalized groups such as indigenous and tribal people, and different categories of minorities.

As Astri Suhrke noted, economic development is both a cause of displacement and a factor in attracting new people (push and pull factors)⁷. The implementation of large development projects creates jobs, gains revenue from tourism, and even contributes to the development of cities. Frequently, however, job growth is accompanied by various forms of displacement and marginalization of the most vulnerable groups. Those most vulnerable to the negative consequences of displacement are particular categories of individuals and communities with little possibility of adapting to the new reality. We can mention among them: women, children, the elderly, people with low elasticity of employment, rural communities (resettled in the cities), indigenous communities, illegal settlers without formal rights to land and properties, and the different categories of minorities – particularly those who are in conflict with the authorities.

Among the most important causes of development-induced displacement we can mention:

1. Water engineering projects (dams, hydropower plants, artificial lakes, irrigation projects, channels, etc.); construction of water reservoirs has become one of the main reasons for the significant expansion of research on development-induced displacement. The largest growth in this area is now taking place in India and China. According to Taneja and Thakkar (2000), the construction of big dams in India has displaced between 21 and 40 million people over the last sixty years. Official Chinese statistics indicated only 10 million people displaced as a result of dam construction over the past few years, but the true figure may be 40-80 million people. According to the *Bankwide Review of Projects Involving Involuntary Resettlement*, 1986-1993 construction of dams may represent more than 20 percent of all cases of DIDR worldwide. As the authors of this document point out, a majority of the people who have been resettled as a result of dam projects belong to the poorest and most vulnerable sections of society. Construction of dams is often a cause of mass resettlement to very distant territories. That is why its social consequences are so much greater than, for example, the consequences of road construction. The table below gives examples of creation of dams which led to the relocation of more than 100,000 people (the statistics presented

6 *Involuntary Resettlement Sourcebook: Planning and Implementation in Development Projects*, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development – World Bank, Washington DC, 2004.

7 A. Suhrke, *Environmental Degradation, Migration and Conflict*, Christian Michelsen Institute–American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1993.

here are estimations only).

Gibe I	Omo	Ethiopia	100.000	2004
Balimela	Sileru	India	113.600	1990
Hirakud	Mahanadi	India	110.000	1957
Kangsabati Kumari	Kangsabati	India	125.000	1965
Pong	Beas	India	150.000	1974
Rihand	Rihand	India	102.000	1962
Sardar Sarovar	Narmada	India	360.000	2004
Somasila	Penar	India	100.000	2004
Srisaillam	Krishna	India	100.000	1984
Kiri	Gongola	Nigeria	100.000	1982
Mangla	Džhelam	Pakistan	110.000	1967
Tarbela	Indus	Pakistan	96.000	1974
Kuibyshev	Volga	Russia	150.000	1990
Rybinsk	Volga	Russia	117.000	1955
Volzhkaya	Volga	Russia	111.000	1965
Kievsk	Dnepr	Ukraine	132.000	1950
Three Gorges Dam	Yangtze	China	1.260.000	2009
Xiaolangdi	Yellow River	China	181.600	2001
Almatti	Upper Krishna	India	200.000	2001
Jinsha Project	Jinsha	China	300.000 (12 dams)	In construction
Danjiangkou (II)	Hanjiang	China	345.000	In construction
Bansagar	Sone	India	142.000	In construction
Tehri	Bhagirathi	India	105.000	In construction
Polavaram	Godavari	India	154.500	Cancelled?
Nam Theun 2 (NT2)	Nan Theun	Laos	100.000	In construction
Pancheshwar	Mahakali	Nepal	124.000	Planned
Son La	Song Da	Vietnam	95,44	Planned

Source: B. Terminski, *Przesiedlenia inwestycyjne. Nowa kategoria przymusowych migracji*, Oficyna Wydawnicza Łośgraf, Warszawa, 2012.

2. Construction of communication networks (roads, highways, railways, bridges). By contrast with the socially costly population displacement caused by the building of reservoirs, that related to the construction of roads is found in all regions of the world. Problems of this kind affect both the U.S. and Europe as well as India, Bangladesh, and the Amazonian countries. We can mention here the construction of the Jamuna and Padma bridges in Bangladesh, which led to the displacement of several thousand people. The creation of the main highway through the heart of Boston (Central Artery/Tunnel Project CA/T – commonly known as the Big Dig) led to the relocation of approximately 10,000 people. Much attention was recently paid to the resettlement and rehabilitation of people following the development of the railway network in Cambodia. I am thinking in particular of the Railways Rehabilitation Project in Cambodia, supported by the Asian Development Bank, and based on recommendations by such experts as Professor Michael M. Cernea.

3. Transformation of urban space (expansion of cities, underground construction, water supply, demolition of poor neighborhoods, postwar reconstruction of cities, demolition of entire city districts, forced relocations from slums and favelas, etc.). Urbanization is the cause of significant levels of resettlement, especially in countries with a high population density. The source of these problems lies both in urban expansion into new areas and in the transformation of existing cities. A

common practice in contemporary China is the demolition of entire city districts or parts of them, followed by later reurbanization. Sewer projects and the construction of underground systems resulted in some Asian cities in the resettlement of tens of thousands of people. Among the best-known projects of this kind are Jabotabek Indonesia's project (displacing over 40,000-50,000 people) and Hyderabad Water Supply Project (displacing 50,000 people). A specific category of urban resettlement is that associated with the demolition of entire neighborhoods, which is a common practice in China and is found in connection with the slums and favelas of South America. In Central Europe, the post-war reconstruction of destroyed cities became another major cause of displacement. The growing category of the problem are evictions in urban space, such as Operation Murambatsvina in Zimbabwe.

4. Deforestation, a problem often seen as a direct cause of both environmentally-induced displacement and development-induced displacement. In the literature we can find disagreement as to whether this problem represents environmentally-induced displacement or development-induced displacement. The felling of trees is often a first step in the direction of negative environmental change and land degradation, which form a significant cause of environmentally-induced displacement. It is often the first step in the establishment of large monoculture plantations, in turn the cause of development-induced displacement. Deforestation is one of the main consequences of industrialization, especially in relation to the extraction of natural resources (such as oil extraction and mining). Wasteful deforestation can lead to an irreversible imbalance in the natural environment (as in the Amazonian jungle), or to the growing scale of desertification of soils. The increasing scale of deforestation in many countries (for example in China) has enormous environmental consequences, forcing many people to migrate. According to a United Nations analysis, Nigeria has the world's highest deforestation rate, Brazil loses the largest area of forest annually, and Congo consumes more bushmeat than any other tropical country. Amazonian deforestation is currently regarded as one of the greatest environmental problems of recent years.

5. Agricultural expansion; this problem is rarely discussed in the literature within the category of DIDR. Special attention is paid to resettlement associated with the creation of large monoculture plantations. The depletion of the Amazonian jungle and its replacement with large palm oil plantations has led to the displacement of many thousands of indigenous people in Borneo. The expansion of agriculture has led to large-scale displacement and resettlement in Latin America (Colombia) as well as in many African countries.

6. Extraction of mineral resources. Mining can be both a direct and an indirect cause of displacement. The direct impact can be observed when displacement is associated with continuing exploitation or expansion of mining areas. The impact of resource extraction on the dynamics of internal displacement has an indirect aspect as well. Such a situation is observed when the desire to control the production, transport or sale of raw materials becomes a source of conflict over control of a specific territory. Exploitation of raw materials thus becomes the cause of conflict-induced displacement.

So-called mining-induced displacement and resettlement is a problem well-discussed in the literature (T.E. Downing, 2003; B. Terminski, 2012)⁸. Expansion of open-pit mines is frequently accompanied by displacement of the people in nearby areas. The most important causes of the growing social problem of people displaced by mining include: 1. expansion of the scale of open-pit mining, 2. lack of social support from local administration and the private sector. In many cases, the consequences of mining alone generate large-scale displacements of local communities. About 60 percent of the world's mineral resources are located in areas inhabited by indigenous people. The

8 T.E. Downing, *Avoiding New Poverty: Mining-Induced Displacement and Resettlement*, International Institute for Environment and Development, London, 2002; B. Terminski, *Mining-Induced Displacement and Resettlement: Social Problem and Human Rights Issue*, Geneva, 2012.

combination of conflict for control over territory, resources disputes, antagonisms between local communities and the authoritarian government, together with ethnic separatism, is a root cause of large-scale displacement. According to some sources, mining may become a direct cause of more than 10 percent of all cases of development-induced displacement worldwide. Among examples of large-scale displacements associated with mining we can mention those from India (coal mining in Jharkhand), Papua Island (gold and silver open-cast mining), Ghana (Tarkwa gold mines) and Mali (Syama and Sadiola gold mines). Even lignite mining in Germany during the last century led to the resettlement of approximately 30,000-100,000 people.

The extraction and transport of crude oil is accompanied by massive displacement of population⁹. Fearing for the security of pipelines, local authorities have displaced many thousands of people living in surrounding areas. It is estimated that a consequence of the creation of a 1,500 kilometer pipeline (so called Block 5A) in Sudan was the displacement from the surrounding area of nearly 170,000 people¹⁰. Oil exploitation in the Niger Delta has generated a progressive conflict between transnational corporations, authoritarian government and local communities, the escalation of which around 1994 led to cases of murder and the displacement of many thousands of members of the Ogoni and Ijaw ethnic communities. Crude oil production has therefore become the root cause of conflict-induced displacement there. The consequences of mining also lead to negative environmental changes such as river, land and air contamination, resulting in a significant level of forced migration later on.

7. Population redistribution schemes. The pursuit of state interests can often lead to the decision to resettle masses of citizens to some other place or to transfer them between two areas. The objectives of these projects vary widely. In totalitarian states, deportations and population transfers are aimed at the ethnic unification of the territory and marginalization of potential political problems. In many countries, however, redistribution of population is an attempt to solve demographic problems resulting from hunger, lack of water and food and overpopulation (or the interaction of all these factors). Here we can mention the long-term project of resettlement and villagization in Ethiopia. The policy of encouraging voluntary resettlement and villagization dates back to 1958; in 1985 the government initiated a new relocation program known as villagization.

8. According to some specialists, the specific cause of development-induced displacement is the conservation of nature (the phenomenon of so-called conservation refugees)¹¹. However, conservation of nature is not directly linked to economic development but rather is an attempt to regulate its expansion. Were it not for the harmful scale of twentieth-century economic development and increasing rate of negative changes in the biosphere, zoning protection of the biosphere in general would not be needed. As pointed out by Charles Geisler, in Africa alone 14 million people have been displaced by nature conservation projects. The annual scale of this problem in India is estimated at between 1.2 and 1.5 million people affected.

Analysis of the problems facing development-induced displaced people

We examine the consequences of development-induced displacement using multiple theoretical concepts. Among the specific research methods primarily formed to analyze problems of displacement and resettlement we can mention the four-stage model created by Elizabeth Colson and Thayer Scudder in the eighties. The next decade saw the development of another important research model: the Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) Model of Michael M. Cernea.

9 B. Terminski, *Oil-induced displacement and resettlement. Social problem and human rights issue*, Simon Fraser University, School for International Studies, Vancouver, March 2012.

10 W.C. Robinson, *Risks and Rights: The Causes, Consequences, and Challenges of Development-Induced Displacement*, SAIS-Brookings Institution, May 2003.

11 M. Dowie, *Conservation Refugees: The Hundred-Year Conflict between Global Conservation and Native Peoples*, MIT Press, 2011.

We can also analyze the problems of displaced people using more general theoretical concepts familiar in social sciences and law. These include the concepts of human rights, human security and human development, along with a few more detailed approaches from philosophy and sociology. In the following section I shall draw attention to the pros and cons of using each of these models.

1. Theoretical approaches designed specifically for the analysis of the consequences of DIDR and the risks affecting displaced people.
 - a) The Elizabeth Colson–Thayer Scudder four-stage model from the 80s. Formulated in 1982, it was to be used primarily in research on voluntary resettlement¹². Subsequently the model was also applied to some cases of involuntary resettlement. Colson and Scudder listed four stages by which individuals in socio-cultural systems responded to resettlement, labeled “recruitment, transition, potential development, and handing over or incorporation”.
 - b) Michael Cernea’s Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model. The IRR Model highlights the risks associated with involuntary resettlement. According to Cernea, the seven basic risks affecting development-induced displaced people include the following: “landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, loss of access to common property resources, increased morbidity and mortality, and community disarticulation”.
2. Influential research approaches used in the analysis of more general social problems affecting displaced people.

Human rights – We can use the traditional classification of human rights as the basis for analysis and identification of the problems facing displaced people. We divide them into fundamental rights, civil rights, political rights, social rights, economic rights, cultural rights and the more advanced third and fourth generations of human rights. Internal displacement also leads to infringement of these more advanced rights: the right to peace, the right to development, the right to the environment, and community rights (collective rights) such as rights of indigenous people, the right to a people’s own way of development, and many more. In 1986, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a Declaration on the Right to Development, which stated that “every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realised”. Despite the adoption in recent years of the documents relating to the human right to development, and the rights of indigenous people and internally displaced people, the problem of development-induced displacement continues to be an underrated and marginalized human rights issue. Moreover, universal institutions and their agencies (UNHCR) devote too little attention to this problem. The Guiding Principles of Internal Displacement, adopted in 1998, refer mainly to displacements associated with internal armed conflicts and natural disasters. This fact indicates the need for fresh analysis of problems and threats affecting development-induced displaced people, treated as a specific area of human rights, rather than reliance on documents relating to the protection of IDPs in general.

Human security – A valuable tool for analysis of the social consequences of displacement is the classification of seven areas of human security published in the UNDP *Human Development Report* (1994). This classification includes the following pillars of contemporary human security: economic security, food security, environmental security, health security, personal security, community

12 M.M. Cernea, “Risks, safeguards and reconstruction: a model for population displacement”. In: M.M. Cernea and C. McDowell (eds.), *Risks and Reconstruction: Experiences of Resettlers and Refugees*, World Bank Publications, 2000.

security and political security. Displacements associated with economic development can lead to violation (reduction in the level) of all the categories of security mentioned here. The most important problem is the violation of community cohesion and disintegration of previously cohesive communities. The usefulness of the concept of human security for the analysis of several categories of consequences of DIDR is pointed out by an increasing number of authors (Bharali, 2006; Caspary, 2007; Terminski, 2012)¹³.

Human development – Detailed classifications of human development can also be a useful research tool. Remember, however, that this concept is primarily focused on maximizing the well-being of individuals and societies, which rarely takes place in the context of displacement caused by development projects or conservation of nature. Development-caused displacement often leads to a decrease in all six basic dimensions of human development mentioned by the UNDP (equity, empowerment, cooperation, sustainability, security, and productivity).

Specific theoretical approaches – Experts analyzing the broader context of development-caused displacement use theoretical approaches from very distant fields of knowledge. There is a growing number of publications analyzing DIDR in the context of globalization, political science, feminism, gender theories and even ethics. We can mention here inter alia the project of Jay Drydyk of Carleton University entitled “Development-Induced Displacement” and John Rawls's “general conception of justice”.

Applying the concept of human security to research on the consequences of development-induced displacement and resettlement

Theoretical models created specifically for the analysis of the problem on the basis of sociology, applied anthropology and applied development studies (e.g. IRR model) seem to be the most effective tools for analysis of risks affecting displaced people. However, some of them do not show the exact context of the risks associated with displacement, or all of the risks facing the affected person. For many other reasons, the concept of human security seems to be an equally important tool for analysis of the consequences of displacement.

Development-induced displacement, like the other categories of internal displacement, is associated with a significant change in the level of human security. The cause of displacement is not always associated with the occurrence of specific risks. The consequences of displacement, however, very often lead to a reduction in most areas of human security. The characteristics of the concept of human security match, to a significant extent, the analysis of social problems such as the risks associated with genocide, famine, natural disasters and even climate change. From an operational perspective, human security aims to address complex situations of insecurity through targeted, collaborative and sustainable measures that are people-centered, multi-sectoral, comprehensive, context-specific, and prevention-oriented. The basic elements of the concept of human security form a very good match with the analysis of development-induced displacement.

The most important cause of development-induced displacement worldwide is the dynamic conflict of interests between public institutions or the private sector, on the one hand, and local communities forced to leave their place of residence, on the other. The perception of territory only as a source of profit often makes it impossible to reconcile the interests of these two actors. Greater humanization of relocation processes must be combined with the abandonment of decision-making in this context

13 G. Bharali, "Development-Induced Displacement and Human Security in Assam", Paper presented at the Seminar on Human Security, Department of Political Science, Gauhati University, November 17-18, 2006; G. Caspary, "The Impacts of Development-induced Displacement on Human Security. A study of dam finance", *Human Security Journal*, Vol. 4, Summer 2007, pp. 70-81.

on the basis of purely economic and profit-and-loss considerations. All analysis of this problem must therefore focus primarily on the situation of displaced affected people. This is because they suffer, for many years, the various consequences of displacement, often without receiving proper compensation for the damage done to them. Just as often, development projects, associated with enormous problems for DPs and PAPs, do not contribute to improvement in the functioning of broader social groups. The World Bank policies adopted so far on involuntary resettlement suggest a people-oriented perspective on the operational level¹⁴. The purpose is to minimize the effects of resettlement plans because of the great number of displaced people threatened by them. These demands, however, are still not properly implemented. The most specific demand seems to be for the greater participation of local communities or their representatives in decision-making at the level of planning and implementation of resettlement. The resettlement process should be not only people-oriented, but people-centered.

Context-specific – When making decisions on relocation it is important to take into account the specific social context of its implementation. Involuntary relocation is a dynamic process which escapes universal patterns and principles. A necessary element of the decision-making process on resettlement should be examination of the economic and social structure of the displaced communities. Resettled communities should be able to maintain existing social ties, without being forced into far-reaching continuation of the economic model. An essential element of reflection on resettlement problems should be consideration of both the individual and community problems of DPs.

Prevention-oriented. People responsible for implementation of resettlement should take into account previous experience with other projects of this kind. Analysis of errors in similar projects in the past can avoid such problems in the future. The stage of investment planning should therefore include the answer to questions about problems which may result in a decision to resettle the population. Interest in the problems of affected communities cannot end upon completion of the development project, but must encompass significant long-term efforts to develop, implement and evaluate the human security of development-induced displaced people.

Extreme cases of resettlement practice could lead to massive decline in all areas of human security for affected and displaced people. Let us now consider how displacement could affect various areas of human security. Important guidance for further consideration will be the already mentioned classification of the seven key areas of human security, as outlined in the *Human Development Report* of 1994¹⁵. For our own purposes we can extend this classification with two additional pillars of human security: gender security and cultural security.

According to the liberal development paradigm, dominant up to now in many regions of the world, involuntary resettlement is the necessary and unavoidable social cost of modernization and economic development. Displaced persons are therefore seen as the victims of a just cause and their problems are considered marginal in comparison with the substantial gains for the majority. Action

14 The first World Bank policy of involuntary resettlement was the Operational Manual Statement (OMS 2.33) of 1980. The policy of involuntary resettlement was revised in 1990 as so-called Operational Directive 4.30 (OD 4.30). In 2003 Operational Policy 4.12 (OP 4.12) on involuntary resettlement was adopted. See: *Involuntary Resettlement Sourcebook. Planning and Implementation in Development Projects*, World Bank Publications, 2004, p. 3; L. Mehta, *Displaced by Development: Confronting Marginalisation and Gender Injustice*, SAGE Publications, 2009, p. 223.

15 Analysis of threats facing development-induced displaced people on the basis of the concept of human security has been presented in several scientific publications. Among the most important of them we can mention: G. Bharali, "Development-Induced Displacement and Human Security in Assam," Paper presented at the Seminar on Human Security, Department of Political Science, Gauhati University, November 17-18, 2006; B. Terminski, "The concept of human security as a tool for analysing the consequences of development-induced displacement and resettlement", http://www.humansecuritygateway.com/documents/UofG_TheConceptofHumanSecurityasaToolforAnalysingtheConsequencesofDevelopment-InducedDisplacementandResettlement.pdf

to improve the economic situation, however, is accompanied by a significant deterioration in the living conditions of marginalized categories of people already outside the mainstream of society, such as indigenous people and dalits in India. Attempts to maximize the country's economic security and the well-being of privileged groups leads to several forms of economic and social insecurity for displaced and affected people. It is also worth mentioning that not all development projects are equally justified socially. The construction of a large dam frequently leads to mass displacement and at least temporary problems for the surrounding inhabitants. This kind of development project is, however, created for public purposes and the subsequent profits from its use can contribute to improvement in the community's conditions. Creation of the dam therefore contributes to maximizing the energy security of thousands of people as well as offering visible gains to local communities in the form of new jobs and profits from tourism. But we can mention many development projects which only maximize the incomes of foreign corporations and do not improve the situation of local communities. I am thinking in particular of the exploitation of raw materials primarily carried out by foreign companies. Profits from the exploitation of open-pit mines are transferred outside the country and do not usually contribute to the improvement of its people's situation, not to mention that of the displaced and affected people. The current automation of production means that only a few of the displaced have the opportunity to find jobs in the mining industry.

From a wider perspective, development projects should contribute to the maximization of human security both for the whole society as well as for communities particularly affected by their consequences. Currently dominant opinions on the problem of involuntary resettlement place too much emphasis on compensation and the amount of compensation, at the expense of long-term improvement in the economic conditions of displaced people and of increased security in their new place of residence.

1. Economic Security is considered a major component of human security, strongly affected by the other categories within this field. The main reason for the decrease in economic security of displaced people is their limited access to the natural resources on which their communities depend. The main problem seems to be landlessness, often leading to the total disintegration of the current economic model of DPs. It plays a role in triggering the progressive marginalization of entire communities. Access to resources such as land and water is necessary for the continuation of the current model of life and lack of these resources becomes a cause of unemployment. The economic model of most indigenous people is characterized by low dynamics of change and a strong anastomosis with the surrounding resources. Displacement to other territories disrupts the economic model, leading in the long run to the marginalization of the displaced and even to the physical extermination of communities. Another problem making the economic conditions of displacees worse is lack of access to common resources such as shared agricultural land, pasture land, rivers, and lakes.

Involuntary relocation and lack of support in the new place of residence are by no means the end of the problems affecting the displaced. The economic situation is also worsened by the negative environmental consequences of previously implemented development projects. The construction of dams and development of mining areas leads to land, water and air pollution. Problems of this kind make it difficult to maintain the standard of living, causing long-term poverty or forced migration to other areas, e.g. rural-urban migrations.

The most appropriate mechanism for improving the economic security of displaced people is resettlement in areas similar to those abandoned, to enhance their prospects of continuing with the accustomed economic model. An important tool with which to minimize the economic risks affecting all displaced groups is resettlement aimed at maintaining the existing economic relations and countering atomization and economic impoverishment. The low flexibility of their economic

model, meaning that most indigenous people have only limited ability to adapt to different surroundings (e.g. the suburbs of big cities), is a common cause of marginalization. Practised during the construction of the Three Gorges Dam in China, resettlement of rural communities to the suburbs of large cities usually does not have positive effects and often leads to phenomena such as unemployment. The decision about community relocation to the new place should be accompanied by well-developed mechanisms of social support for resettled people, especially those that allow them to continue with their existing economic model, and those that prevent homelessness. In many areas of the world, such as India, impoverishment forces parents to put their children into full-time work to maintain the family. In this situation it becomes difficult to provide young people with access to education, raising the prospect of economic marginalization for the next generation.

2. Food Security should be regarded as a sub-category of economic security. On the basis of recent studies on the human right to health, we can highlight the way problems of this kind affect displaced people. Professor Michael M. Cernea lists food insecurity as one of the fundamental problems facing displaced people and contributing to their impoverishment. Difficult access of displaced people to food can be considered the most negative consequence of landlessness and of inaccessibility of common resources such as common agricultural land, pastures and rivers. A significant reduction in the agricultural area causes its over-exploitation, putting large communities at risk of poverty. A frequent consequence of development projects is the displacement of the population to areas characterized by a much lower quality of arable land and difficulty of access to water. It is difficult to restore the customary agricultural and fishing schemes there. Often the only possible solution to the food problems of displaced people is another forced migration, for example from poorly-populated or environmentally degraded areas to the suburbs of big cities. According to studies by Fernandes and Raj, malnutrition is a particularly visible problem among displaced girls and women¹⁶.

3. Health Security. The impact of displacement in terms of the deteriorating health situation of those affected is a question often analyzed in the scientific literature¹⁷. Among the categories of people particularly vulnerable to health risks associated with development-induced displacement we can list children, women and the elderly. Health risks affecting the displaced usually result from the progressive degradation of the environment or the deterioration in economic conditions associated with resettlement. Walter Fernandes draws attention to the problem of child malnutrition, common within displaced communities¹⁸. Very often, resettlement to remote territories is not accompanied by appropriate social support mechanisms to ensure the displaced people's access to health care institutions in the new place of residence. Another factor affecting health security is the problem of access to potable water and sanitation. According to studies conducted in recent years among tribal people in India, displacement almost always lead to a deterioration in access to drinking water. The next most important health risk factor is contamination of water, air and land as a direct result of development projects. It is also worth paying attention to the psychological consequences of displacement. The irreversible nature of displacement and lack of awareness of possibilities of return to the previously inhabited areas very often cause psychological trauma and alienation, including mental illness. Loss of the organic relation with the land that characterizes many tribal communities creates not only economic problems but also social threats such as alcoholism.

4. Environmental Security. The principles of sustainable development, proposed in the fora of many intergovernmental organizations, remain only wishful thinking in the case of many development

16 W. Fernandes and S.A. Raj. *Development, Displacement and Rehabilitation in the Tribal Areas of Orissa*, Indian Social Institute, New Delhi, 1992.

17 S. Ramaiah, *Health Implications of Involuntary Resettlement and Rehabilitation in Developmental Projects in India: Volume I*. New Delhi: Society for Health Education and Learning Packages, 1995.

18 W. Fernandes, "Development-Induced Displacement: The Class and Gender Perspective", Paper presented at the International Conference on *The Emerging Woman in the Indian Economy*. Christ College, Bangalore, November 26-27, 2007.

projects carried out in African and Asian countries. The development of every human being in good environmental conditions is not, in practice, the right of every citizen of our planet but is only the privilege of the rich. In particular, many examples of environmental degradation have been observed in the areas inhabited by poor and marginalized groups remaining on the periphery of society. Expansion of mining areas should be recognized as development projects leading to particularly substantial changes in the environment. Crude oil and coal mining lead to irreversible contamination of groundwater and the deterioration of environmental conditions even in areas very distant from the exploitation site. Examples from Nigeria and India show that the most negative environmental consequences of resource exploitation are borne by people from the poorest social classes, sometimes by ethnic and religious minorities who are in conflict with state authorities. Despite the exploitation of land that belongs to them, they participate in the transferral of income from its sale. Dam construction is another type of development project leading to decline in environmental sustainability over large areas and consequent weakening of the basis of economic security for entire communities. According to a case study of relations between dam construction and development in Northeast India, the environmental consequences of dam construction include "impact on ecosystems, irregular floods, fish supply and variety, environmental degradation, threats to flora and fauna, loss of wetlands, loss of forest space for living of indigenous people, water user rights"¹⁹.

5. Personal Security. Displacements associated with economic development have to a great extent led to decline in the level of individual security. Resettlement carried out in India and some Latin American states brought about the atomization of hitherto cohesive communities. Members of previously strong communities were deprived of any support. The disintegration of communities is a major reason for the subsequent marginalization of persons displaced by economic development.

6. Political Security. Incorrect assumptions about development policy or its wrong implementation, divorced from principles of social sustainability and proper analysis of the social consequences, may become a source of political instability and increasing internal antagonisms. The issue presented in this report is a category of displacement having a particularly strong connection with the sphere of politics²⁰. The functioning of the political in a particular country to a large extent affects the directions of economic development and the scale of involuntary resettlement accompanying its implementation. Development-induced displacement has become a global phenomenon on a massive scale through changes such as decolonization and political upheavals in developing countries. Let us mention here Mao's so-called Great Leap Forward in China and Nehru's economic policy aimed at making dams "the temples of modern India". In African and Latin American states as well, the scale, dynamics and political consequences of displacement were strongly dependent on the direction of economic development. The implementation of resettlement usually reflects the standards of respect for human rights in the countries practising it. Particularly dangerous consequences accompanying displacement are observed in countries with totalitarian and authoritarian governments, failed states, and those with wide social disparities, in which large communities are pushed to the margins of society. A highly developed country, having a democratic form of government, respect for human rights and the expanded participation of citizens in government, cannot afford to implement socially costly development projects associated with involuntary resettlement.

Even socially harmful policies of rapid economic growth should take into account the principles of sustainable development, the participation of all citizens in the decision-making process, and the

¹⁹ *Reporting dams and development: Strengthening media's capacity to report research in Northeast India*, Working Paper, Panos South Asia-Relay, March 2012.

²⁰ The categories of internal displacement which are much less dependent on political decisions include those associated with sudden natural disasters or industrial accidents (disaster-induced displacement) as well as those connected with slow-onset environmental changes, including climate change (environmentally-induced displacement, climate change-induced displacement).

rights of persons who bear the greatest individual burden of economic development. It is necessary that the persons paying the costs of social development projects become full-fledged actors on the stage of resettlement planning, prior public consultation, and decision-making as to forms of compensation. The most fundamental goal of development policy should be to expand the well-being of all members of society and equalize economic differences between different social groups. Unfortunately, in many parts of the globe, even development projects initiated for public purposes contribute to the well-being only of selected social groups. Many projects implemented with foreign capital do not contribute to economic growth because almost all the resulting income is transferred abroad²¹.

7. Community Security. Development-induced displacement leads not only to a decline in the level of community security but often also to the complete disintegration of large communities. The character of community security threats reflects the standards of implementation of development projects and their accompanied displacements. One of the tools for maximizing community security is the implementation of resettlement on the basis of prior plans, taking into account long-term social consultations. Equally important is adequate compensation for material and non-material losses, along with extended mechanisms of social support to facilitate adaptation to the new place of residence and integration into local communities. Maximization of the level of community security of displaced people is strongly dependent on two conditions. The first consists of actions to maintain existing social ties and community identity in the new place of residence. The second, no less important, factor is adaptation to the new place of residence and integration with its inhabitants. Only the continuation of existing socio-economic relations, combined with the construction of new ones, can achieve a long-term increase in community security. Paradoxically, well-implemented relocation over a longer period of time can help to maximize the security level of the displaced as compared to their situation before displacement. The key element seems to be the standard of resettlement implementation, which protects the people who are affected by this problem and vulnerable to the risk of poverty. In more and more countries, planned relocation accompanied by adequate compensation and social support mechanisms is seen as a basic right of DP communities (right to resettlement and rehabilitation). Among examples of resettlement which have led to improved conditions for the people affected, we can mention some relocations associated with dam building in Brazil or exploitation of raw materials in some African states. An increasing number of transnational companies involved in mining view the proper implementation of resettlement as an element of successful corporate image-building and CSR. The fear of public opinion in western countries means that an increasing number of companies cannot afford to risk apparent violations of the rights of displaced people or actions leading to their economic marginalization.

The specialists analyzing the consequences of involuntary resettlement tend to focus on the situation of larger communities such as tribes, rural communities or ethnic minorities. However, the family is the social unit most fundamentally affected by its consequences. One of the most common consequences of development-caused displacement is the change in economic organization of family members. Deterioration of economic conditions, which is a common result of involuntary resettlement, often requires a greater amount of work to maintain a standard of living at least approximating the former one. This situation is often associated with the need for additional family members, including children, to take on work. Resettlement of agricultural communities in urban areas means that people must obtain money, which is not always necessary for hunter-gatherer communities or those whose economies are based on barter and neighborly relations. Economic marginalization of parents often forces children to drop out of school and obtain full-time work so that the family as a whole can avoid the prospect of poverty. As pointed out by Gita Bharali of the NESRC, development-induced displacement in India has led to a decline in the economic role of women within the family. This situation leads in turn to the progressive social marginalization of

21 B. Terminski, *Mining-Induced Displacement And Resettlement. Social Problem and Human Rights Issue (A Global Perspective)*, unpublished research paper, University of Geneva, Faculty of Law, March 2012.

women, already seriously excluded and discriminated against in this country. Inability to continue their former economic activities such as collecting firewood, fishing, and small-scale agriculture, undermines their social function within the family. For both men and women, low occupational flexibility and, in many cases, lack of education, lead to unemployment as a common result of displacement. All the problems mentioned here, and their further consequences such as alcoholism, threaten the stability of family ties. Often, development-induced displacement produces the disintegration of formerly cohesive multi-generational families and their subsequent marginalization as important social entities. It therefore seems necessary to develop research into the impact of displacement on the situation of small groups. Understanding these issues seems to be a crucial element in the proper planning, social cost evaluation and implementation of involuntary resettlement.

8. Gender-Based Insecurity. The main problem I wish to draw attention to is the marginalization of women's economic and social position caused by displacement and the health risks affecting them. Development-induced displacement has become a factor in weakening the already heavily disadvantaged position of women. Studies recently conducted in the Indian province of Assam indicate that more than 29% of displaced women had lost the ability to continue with their customary activities, and were left permanently lacking in opportunities for other forms of economic activity. The displacement therefore replaced the woman's economic function with the role of housewife and dependence on a husband's earnings. According to recently conducted research, development-induced displacement is also the cause of significant health risks and problems for young girls and pregnant women. Several forms of marginalization affecting displaced women are much more profound and difficult to solve than those affecting men. Women, with poorer education and low employment flexibility, have much less chance of finding work significantly different from their traditional economic activity.

9. Cultural Security. Development-induced relocation, like most categories of long-term displacement, leads to major cultural changes. They result from the relocation's erosion of existing social ties as well as from the need to adapt to the new place of residence. The displacement leads to atomization of existing structures and therefore also, in the longer term, to the depletion of cultural traditions. The need to adapt to the different patterns imposed by conditions in the new place of residence modifies the accustomed lifestyles. The greater the difference between the models of functioning in the old and new environments, the greater is the cultural change. The impact of displacement on cultural change within small social groups was already the subject of extensive studies undertaken in the fifties by American applied anthropologists, such as Robert Fernea, Elizabeth Colson and Thayer Scudder, who conducted research into the social implications of dam building in Africa. Anthropological studies confirm the impact of resettlement in the form of reduced cultural diversity and even of extinction of languages and dialects. Therefore, consistent resettlement of communities in their entirety (e.g. tribes, villages, large clans, people with a similar professional profile) is essential. Only places of residence similar to the previous home will allow them to develop their existing skills.

The most severe problems affecting development-induced displaced people (selected):

Fundamental security risks: escalation of violence caused by conflict over resources, discrimination in the new place of residence, displacement from existing homelands without prior planning, compensation and social support mechanisms, persecution of people who do not wish to leave their homes, relations between development-induced displacement and internal conflicts or separatist trends, significant health risks, difficulty of access to potable water in the new place of residence, risks associated with environmental devastation

Social problems: lack of mechanisms of social support and difficult integration into the new place

of residence, compensation that ignores non-material losses and risks associated with displacement, negative consequences of the irreversible change of residence, atomization (disintegration) of existing social ties, social problems such as landlessness, homelessness, alcoholism, and unemployment, lack of access to social services (e.g., health care institutions, education, water supply, public transport), progressive marginalization of the most vulnerable groups such as women, children and indigenous people, health risks, malnutrition.

Economic problems: inadequate or nonexistent compensation for lost property, unemployment, decline of economic functions of women and their position in the community, problems associated with low occupational flexibility of displaced people, need for complete change away from the current economic model.

Political problems: political marginalization of displaced communities, displacement as a tool for punishment of communities particularly dangerous to the authorities.

Cultural problems: disintegration of small communities such as tribes and villages, erosion of cultural identity, loss of or inability to maintain existing cultural traditions, disappearance of languages, dialects and ancient customs, etc.

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